1: Karsten--219-221 (1916-18) 1935 — Jivaro-1
116, 842, 776 (1928-29)

"Conception through a demon, resulting in an evil birth and a monstrous child, may take place under different circumstances.

When among the CANELOS INDIANS a woman is menstruating she is obliged to diet and does not leave the house except for the most urgent needs. If she goes alone into the forest she may meet the demon, supai, in the shape of a white man dressed in black clothes, who grasps her by the hand, leads her away, and seduces her. The women themselves are said to have a special liking for the supai meeting them in this shape and to yield readily to the temptation. They are, therefore, guarded by their husbands while menstruating.

The consequence of intercourse with the demon will be that the woman will either fall ill and die or give birth to a monstrous child with claws, with hair over the whole body, without ears, or deformed or defective in some other way. Such a monster is called supai huahua 'the son of a demon', and is invariably killed by the Indians who also regard the incident as particularly unlucky and ominous: they have the demon in a material shape in their midst. Among the Canelos Indians the supai huahua is buried alive in the forest. The father of the child, the supai, they say, will himself come and fetch his son; therefore it must not be directly killed but buried alive.

Generally, however, the demon appears to a woman in the shape of a beautiful Indian, painted red with roucou in the face and wearing a feather crown (tawasámba) on the head.

He mostly meets the woman in a dream, while she is sleeping, and tries to seduce her. If he has had intercourse with her two nights in succession, she will soon feel pains in the womb, and some time afterwards she will either die or give birth to a supai huahua.

The Canelos Indians told me about a young Indian woman who had lived alone with the supai in an uninhabited region on the Rio Rutúnu, [220] a small tributary to the Bobonaza. The supai had the shape of a beautiful Indian, well dressed and painted red in the face. He stayed with the woman one week as her husband, and every day brought her all sorts of game from the forest as well as fish. The woman had previously been beautiful and fat, but after that time she began to get thin and pine away and finally died. This was due to her having had intercourse with the supai.

One of the most formidable demons known to the Indians is the huge water boa, called amárum by the Quichua-speaking Indians. It is the original source of witchcraft and the souls of sorcerers especially are believed to take up their abode, temporaily [sic] or permanently, in this monster. Now, in the imagination of the Indians the rainbow (cuichi) is nothing but a huge boa in the air or, as they generally express it, the rainbow is the 'shadow of the boa'. One superstition held about this phenomenon is that it makes women pregnant. When the rainbow appears, therefore, the women who are menstruating ought not to go out lest an accident of this kind should happen to them. Especially if they are travelling and sleep alone at night in some shelter of palm leaves in the forest they are

liable to be visited by the cuichi supai (the rainbow demon) who has intercourse with them and makes them pregnant, the result of this cohabitation being as usual, a supai huahua.(1)

The Canelos Indians moreover believe that the demon, when he wants to visit a woman, may take the shape of a black, nocturnal bird which they call tulúlu. The tulúlu supai at night enters into the house where he assumes human shape and has intercourse with the woman while she is sleeping. Soon afterwards the woman falls ill, and some time later she will give birth to something evil.

"1. This superstition prevails both among the Napo and the Canelos Indians, but is particularly held by the mountain Indians from whom it has, perhaps, been propagated to the primitive tribes in the virgin forests of the east. At Pelileo, a village situated in the mountain regions of Central Ecuador, I was told about an Indian woman who had given birth to a dreadful monster, half a hairy pig, half a human being. The Indians explained the phenomenon by the woman having exposed herself to the embraces of the demon of the rainbow.

The Quichua-speaking women of the mountain regions also believe that they may be made pregnant by lizards and other similar animal beings entering into them. When an Indian woman sees a lizard therefore she jumps far away for fear of coming in contact with it."

Sometimes the demon takes the shape of a hawk (anga) and then has intercourse with a woman at night, during sleep. Afterwards she [221] gives birth to a supai huahua which is grey in colour, has the head and the eyes of a hawk and deformed legs. Such a monster, as already mentioned, is buried alive or at any rate killed."

1: Karsten--221-222 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 845, 776, 826 (1928-29)

"It is, however, not only monstrous and defective children that are thus regarded as the direct result of demoniacal action. The same superstition is held about twins, even when there is nothing abnormal in their outward appearance. The primitive Indian is unable to grasp the idea that one man can be the father of two children born at once. Hence when twins are born in a family only the child arriving first can be the offspring of the husband of the woman; the other one must have been begotten either by another man or, more generally, by a demon, and is therefore killed. This belief is found among Indians in different parts of the South American continent and affords the true explanation of the common practice of infanticide in the case of twins. In Ecuador it seems to prevail among all tribes except among the Jibaros.(1) As to the Canelos Indians, it has among them inter alia given rise to that interesting marriage custom which has been related above. In regard to the fear of twins I may add that at Canelos the married men never eat two bananas which are grown together, believing that if they do eat them their wives will give birth to twins.

"1. The superstition in question exists for instance among the Napo Indians and the Záparos. The latter not only kill the second child, but are in the habit of chanting and beating drums every night during a whole month after the birth of twins, in order to counteract the evil consequences arising from the house having been polluted by a demon."

On the other hand, the savage JIBAROS do not seem to share this superstition. On the contrary, they say that they are pleased when twins are born, because they want to have as many children as possible. But [222] even the Jibaros are firmly convinced that children who are born deformed or defective in any way have been begotten by demoniacal operation. Such a child is called nētsi, pasúna, 'deformed', 'monstrous', or iguánchi uchi, 'the son of a demon'. Nētsi properly speaking means 'deaf and dumb', but also 'deformed' in general, and is thus particularly used in the same sense as iguánchi uchi. The Jibaros always kill a deformed 'demoniacal' child by crushing it under the feet, and bury it in the forest.

How the conception through a demon (iguánchi) takes place, the Jibaros cannot explain with the same realistic details as the Canelos Indians, but as to the fact itself they have no doubt. Most generally the birth of a nētsi, pasúna, or iguánchi uchi follows as the consequence of unlawful marriage, especially a marriage within the forbidden degrees of relationship, when brother and sister, or cousins on the male side marry, or when a man marries his niece or a woman her nephew. Such marriages are therefore looked upon with horror and strictly prohibited by Jibaro custom. The birth of a demon (a monstrous child) is regarded as a disgrace and an unfortunate incident not only for the parents but for the whole family and tribe."

1: Karsten--245 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
821, 776 (1928-29)

"After darkness sets in the Indians as a rule avoid going out, since it is dangerous to wander in the forest because of the venomous snakes, etc. The Indians also fear ghosts and evil spirits moving about at night."

"Places and localities which have something striking in their appearance or are connected with remarkable incidents are inhabited by spirits, wakáni or iguánchi. Of these nature spirits, those of hills and mountains (neindya) are the most important. The hills are looked upon as the dwelling-places of dead sorcerers whose souls have transmigrated into these localities. When wandering upon hills and mountains, especially such as they have not visited before, the Indians keep silence and do not shoot with their guns, fearing lest the demon of the hill should get angry. When the interior of a mountain booms as they pass it, they say that it is the iguánchi who is beating his great drum or expressing his objection to being disturbed. The great drum of the Jibaros, called tundui, is even said to be an imitation of the tundui of the iguánchi living in the hills, and the dull sound produced by the big drum is meant to be a imitation of the booming produced by the iguánchi in the mountain. The demons of the hills and mountains, being spirits of medicine-men and sorcerers, are also believed to send disease. Hence the neindya iguánchi are often invoked by the medicine-men when curing their patients. Most feared are the snow-clad mountains and volcanoes. When the Jibaros ascribe chills and bad diseases to such mountains, they hold an idea which is spread everywhere among the Quichuas and other mountain Indians both in Ecuador and Peru.

The Sangay, one of the most formidable volcanoes of Ecuador, has been regarded with superstitious fear as iguánchi hea, 'the house of iguánchi', where the demon torments

to death those persons whom he has caught and carried off. The Catholic missionaries, when trying to impart to the Indians the idea of hell and of moral retribution after death, have availed themselves of their ideas about Sangay as the place where iguánchi is torturing people for their sins.

Rapids and cataracts in the rivers as well as waterfalls and cascades in the cordilleras (sása or paccha) are also regarded as haunts or abodes [383] of spirits. The Jibaro Indian, before he drinks natéma or maikoa in the forest, always takes a bath in a sása in the belief that in this way he is brought into more intimate contact with the demons with whom he communicates during the narcotic sleep. The Indians on such occasions generally retire to the forest, just because the ancestral spirits whom they hope to meet in the dream usually dwell in the forest. These spirits are mostly feared in ordinary life, but in dreams, on the contrary, they appear as the friends and advisers of man, as will be seen later on.

Among the Jibaros even a sort of stone-worship exists. Apparently insignificant stones of peculiar shape or colour, or connected with remarkable incidents, are often credited with a mysterious power and raised to the rank of real fetishes. Among these are the 'lightning-stones' by which the Jibaros understand small round black stones which are said to have been hurled down from heaven by a flash of lightning, or more strictly speaking, by those departed Jibaro warriors whose spirits are believed to be

active in thunder and lightning. The supernatural power with which they are endowed is due to their connection with these spirits. Since they proceed from warriors they are especially believed to give success in war. Besides this, when kept for a long time they will have the effect of promoting the growth of the domestic swine and the fowls. This particular belief is closely connected with the worship of the dead, and especialy the worship of dead ancestors characteristic of the Jibaros. The Indians appreciate their 'lightning-stones' and all similar fetishes extremely and would not on any account part with them."

2: Stirling--116 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 776

"All of the principal nature gods or culture heroes contain powerful tsarutama. These, as a rule, are personified and are assigned particular dwelling places. Thus, for example, Piribri, the Rain God, lives in the solitudes of the cloud-wrapped mountain peaks. Therefore the mountain itself is charged with his tsarutama. The trail from Mendez to Yaupe crosses Cuticu, and no Jivaro will speak while crossing the summit of the mountain because Piribri likes solitude and silence. If offended by disrespectful invasion of his dwelling place, he causes heavy rains to fall upon the traveler, produces floods in the streams, and makes the way difficult and dangerous. Likewise, Pangi, the great anaconda River God, dwells a captive in the Pongo Manseriche, the great cataract of the Marañon, and the same taboo of silence is observed by the Jivaros in passing through this gorge. Etsa, the sun, and Nantu, the moon, contain powerful tsarutama, which influences all that goes on on earth. The chonta palm, one of the plants mentioned in the sacred origin myth and much used by the Jivaros in making weapons, utensils, and even their houses, also contains tsarutama. The Indians believe that a lance made entirely of chonta wood is more effective in warfare than one which is tipped with iron."

4: Up de Graff--216-217 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 776

"The religion of the Antipas, as far as I was able to discover, is simple and primitive. They fear two gods; the god of rivers and rain, and the god of the forest, the former called by the Incas Yacu mámam (the Odd-footed One), the latter Chulla Chaquicuna (the Great One of The Waters).

The true Inca religion is of course sun-worship, but those descendants of the old kingdom who still retain the mother-tongue, but who have strayed from the mountains into the woods of the Amazon basin have, in the course of generations, adapted themselves to their new environments, and dropped the worship of the god they scarcely see, adopting those of the Jívaros in their stead to whom they must look for prosperity. The rivers, the rain and the forest give them all they possess, while the sun plays but a small part in their lives. To the worship of the two Jívaro gods they have added a lively appreciation of the existence of the Evil One, in the person of Supai, at whose door they lay every misfortune that overtakes them.

I have digressed for a moment on the subject of the religion of the Incas rather in order to compare it with that of their neighbours, the Jívaros, of whom we are speaking, than to examine it in detail. To return, then, to the latter; Chulla-Chaquicuna is Lord of the Forest, and moves through it unseen by any, in the form of a man with one human and one jaguar's foot. The Indians point out his tracks, as indeed they have done to me many a time. The obvious explanation of their ex[217]istence (for they do indeed exist!) seems never to have occurred to their simple minds. When he has been found to have

passed their way they attribute anything out of the ordinary (abundance or scarcity of game, an unsuccessful brew of poison, or the presence of dangerous snakes, for example) to his influence.

Yacu-mámam possesses the power of changing from a tapir to an anaconda, from an anaconda to a frog. His haunts are the rivers and streams, and he brings on destructive floods or beneficial showers as he wills. Thus these three animals are never molested by the Jívàros, for fear of the anger of Yacu-mámam. This fact accounts for the tameness of the tapir throughout the region of which we speak.

As far as I know no sacrifices are ever offered to these gods. They are regarded from a respectful distance, rather than cultivated with complicated ceremony. Images and religious festivals are unknown to the Jívaro. His is the religion of a simple, practical forest-folk, based on superstition, which is, after all, common to all primitive peoples."

10: Anthony--147-148 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 776, 787, 276

"The Jivaros do not believe in a benign deity, but in a power which is spoken of by the Spaniards as el diablo, the devil. This being is not necessarily malicious in his attributes, but rather is considered to be a 'Super-Jivaro,' one powerful in all matters, omnipotent for good or evil but not loving evil for its own sake. When an important project is under consideration--a foray for wives or a long hunting trip into the territory of a hostile neighbor--the Jivaro deems it of the utmost importance that the 'devil' be consulted. For this purpose he retires to some secluded spot, let us say a small hill off in the jungle, and there drinks a quantity of a certain vegetable extract. This extract, made from the bark of a root, is a dark fluid [148] resembling coffee. It produces a narcotic effect upon the human system and the Jivaro passes into a stupor of several hours' duration, during which he experiences various weird hallucinations. One of these hallucinations is that the devil comes to him and gives advice regarding the proposed plan. If favorable views upon the matter are entertained by the devil, the project will be attempted. Consultation with the devil may be had by any man, for it is not the special province of any priestly class. I have spoken with white men who have sampled this narcotic drink and from the reports of its effects I judge the active principle of it must be some powerful alkaloid."

Although these myths seem to vary from one tribe to the other, all Jíbaro believe in the existence of a superior powerful spirit called iguanchi (1). The missionaries have taken this word for describing the devil. As for the Christian God, the spirit of goodness, that is Yusa, a word derived from Jesus or from Dios, which proves that the Jíbaros do not have the equivalent of it. In reality, the iguanchi does not correspond to the Christian devil. He is neither good nor bad, he is powerful; he is, one might say, a great Jíbaro captain, more powerful than the most renowned chiefs. The savage fears him but does not worship him, and when the missionaries speak to him concerning one who is charitable and merciful, he responds logically that he has no need of honoring a good God who by definition would not know how to wish him anything bad, while there is an advantage in drawing to himself the benevolence of the irritable and vindictive iguanchi(2). The latter frequently appears to the savage on the remote paths in the forest, usually at nightfall, most often in the guise of a monkey spitting fire from his

1. Father Prieto is the only one to call it Cumbanama or Neche. The first of these names recalls the name of the valley of Cumbinama, where Loyola was founded. Prieto. Descripcion de la provincia de los Jívaros, op. cit., in Compte, op. cit., Book II. p.64.
2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 111.

mouth or [238]of a horned animal which the missionaries compare to a goat (3). The Aguarunas believe that the iguanchi lives in the whirlpools of the Amazon and in a mountain which is found on the left bank of this river at the Pongo de Manseriche (4). He is invulnerable, and the most courageous tremble at the sight of him and flee.

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3. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., fifth letter, p. 45. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 114.

4. Manuel Antonio Mesones Muro. Vias al Oriente del Peru. (Boletin de la Sociedad geografica de Lima. 13th year, V . XIII, first quarter 1903, pp. 54-89), p. 81.

It is this omnipotent spirit who directs all the important acts of the Jíbaro's life. His advice is asked when a war is undertaken, it is to him that the wounded address themselves in order to recover their health, it is he who reveals to those who please him the most important secrets for the tribe. In order to enter communication with him it is necessary to drink the infusion of natema(1), the preparation of which I have already described. For this operation, the Indians choose a high and isolated hill. At Macas, the customary place is a hill, from the top of which one can see Sangay (2), a ceaselessly active volcano which seems to play a big part in the religious ideas of the Jíbaros of this region and which they call Tungura (3), a word that the missionaries have adopted to designate hell.

From the bottom of the hill up to the summit, a road is made either in a straight line, or in a spiral, and lined with flowers; at the top, a little shelter (iyámtei) is built, before which a space in the form of an elongated quadrilateral is laid out and levelled. He who is to undergo the test climbs up accompanied by all those who have some interest

1. Colonel Proaño speaks of a narcotic called naje employed for the same purpose by the Ayulis Indians and which ought to be analagous to natema: Vacas Galindo. Limites Ecuatoriano-Peruanos, op. cit., tome III, page 407.
2. Reiss, op. cit., page 336.
3. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 146.

in the consulation of the iguanchi; having arrived at the top, his companions begin to dance to the sound of drums and flutes, during which the hero of the feast drinks the natema. As soon as he falls overcome by the narcotic, the crowd withdraws, leaving him alone in the shelter, after having lit near him a big pile of wood in order to keep beasts away (4). The drink immediately provokes an erethism of all the senses, with hallucinations, as well as a great muscular excitation; the hair bristles, the eyes water, the nostrils dilate, there is a [239] trembling of the lips; gritting of teeth, convulsions, and a loud rattling in the throat. Then follows a lethargic period which lasts about three days, during which the subject remains completely insensible (5). Villavicencio, who tried out the natema on himself, which he called by the Quechua name of ayahuasca, said he had a feeling of dizziness, then the sensation of rising into the air, with dreams of beautiful countries, large cities, high towers, etc., and finally impressions of horrible fear in desperate struggles against ferocious beasts. The effect of the drink is terminated by a strong need of sleep and, on waking, by a heaviness and aching of the head, accompanied sometimes by a general sickness(6).

4. I Jívaros di Mendez e Gualaquiza, op. cit., page 4.
5. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., pp. 112-113.
6. Villavicencio, op. cit., page 373.

It is during the period of excitation that the iguanchi gives the Jíbaro his advice, his miraculous cures, if the motive of the consulation was a recovery of health, or confides to him the name of the individual responsible for the death by witchcraft of a member of the family. Upon awakening, the Indian descends the hill and communicates to his relatives or associates the answer of the Spirit, and depending on whether it is favorable or not, the proposed war or the proposed expedition is immediately decided or postponed until later (7). One can understand how these superstitions contribute to maintain the state of permanent hostility between tribes.

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7. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 112.

25: Vigna'--39 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 776

The Religion of the Jíbaro. It is difficult to speak of a religion proper to the Jíbaros, if in this we intend to find concrete manifestations of supernatural ideas, practices, ceremonies or rites. The Jíbaro believes in a Principle of Good, called "YUS"; the origin of this word is possibly encountered in the corresponding Spanish word "DIOS". The Jíbaro does not fear the "YUS" because he is good and does no evil. The Jíbaro also believes in the Principle of Evil, called "Yhuanchi", whom he fears and propitiates in various ways and whom he tries not to molest in order not to provoke an annoyance which often crystallizes into material form.

25: Vigna--39 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 776, 787

The "Yhuanchi" is the principle that informs many manifestations of the domestic and social life of the Jíbaro. Through dreams, provoked by means of a potion of "Natem "Natem" (narcotic of vegetal nature which puts them to sleep for hours and entire days), the Yhuanchi makes known to the Jíbaros the cause of family illness and misfortune; it reveals the name of the supposed enemies, predicts the future, organizes the undertakings, and orders vengeance, etc. In order to put himself in communication with the Yhuanchi, the savage withdraws from the others, fasts strictly, and retires to the forest, oftentimes near a waterfall.

25: Vigna--39 [3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 776, 755

The Yhuanchi instructs, prepares and gives the necessary science to the "Witches" for the curing of illness and for malefic influences. In order to obtain these favors, the Jíbaro who is initiated in this life must fast rigorously, abstain from certain foods and drinks, and follow a certain strict regimen. The Yhuanchi orders and directs the bellicose reprisals of revenge on an enemy, although this may be merely an assumption as happens in the majority of cases.

25: Vigna--39 [4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 776, 241

A special Principle, similar to a goddess, presides over the sowing. They direct songs to her in order to propitiate her.

25: Vigna--39 [5] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 776, 761

Another divinity, --if the Principle which informs all the activities of their life according to their concept, can be called divinity--assists and provokes death, when this is not violent and caused by war.

28: Tessman--356 [5] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 776

They have no god. Karsten, too, says in The Religion etc., p. 125 that they know of no supreme being or creator. The earth-mother Nungüi can hardly be designated as a goddess: she is judging from Karsten's statements, a demon that has been singled out of the row of the other demons.

28: Tessman--360 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 776

The Chiwaro belief in demons is very pronounced. The demons form the center of their entire religious structure. The demons are called iwandji. According to Karsten (The Religion etc., pp. 126 ff.), all demons seem to have been the souls of evil sorcerers. The greatest demon appears in the shape of an ape, a bear or a doe, and it kills human beings. The Aguarunas told me that this demon was not dangerous but only a prankster. He lives in the forest. Sometimes he beats up adults when they are drunk, but he never kills them. Moreover, he abducts children and tries to lure them into the forest. When children are heard crying, the signal drum is beaten, whereupon the demon lets the child go.

31: Danielsson--89 [2] (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 776

"Beliefs in spirits, both benevolent and evil ones, are common and some of these spirits are supposed to be located in plants and animals and are in these forms objects of worship."

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

future generations of Jívaro. At the same moment that these arutam souls are "born," the second type of Jívaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

THE MUISAK[13]

The second kind of soul, the muisak or avenging soul, is closely connected with the arutam soul. Only a person who has had an arutam soul is capable of forming a muisak. Furthermore, a muisak comes into existence only when a person who has seen an arutam is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. At the time of death of such a person his avenging soul is created and leaves his corpse through its mouth.[14] If one simply dies of contagious disease or of old age (the latter believed to be a rare occurrence), no muisak is created.

The sole reason for being of a person's muisak is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an arutam soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The muisak is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much arutam power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a muisak while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human head trophy is not taken and prepared, the muisak is able to travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of three types of *iwančI* or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*makančI*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda (*pagi*) which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jívaro society which might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of the steel bush knife or machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a muisak can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jívaro view slight self-inflicted wounds as true accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

Before the avenging spirit or iwančI kills the murderer, it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this iwančI fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the tsantsa feasts. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again.

The widely publicized practice of the Jívaro in shrinking human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge of the muisak concept. A major part of the belief and ritual associated with the shrunken head or tsantsa is a direct effort to thwart the muisak in its mission of vengeance.[1] The Jívaro believe that the completion of the process of head-shrinking forces the muisak, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical one that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its tsantsa(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the final steps in the processing of the shrunken head before arrival home is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the muisak cannot see out," thereby making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the tsantsa.

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the tsantsa is held immediately. This feast is later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the muisak might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically-binding ritual to slip from the head trophy to cause a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the muisak will be kept inside of the tsantsa until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing:

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

The tsantsa is customarily later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the muisak to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands it over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the tsantsa feast did not succeed in its purpose.

During the three feasts the celebrants had been concerned with utilizing the power of the muisak as well as containing it. As in the case of the arutam

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

One can often see deer and owls lingering in the vicinity of abandoned garden and house sites.[17] The Jívaro interpret the presence of such creatures at these old living places as evidence that the animals are temporarily visible embodiments of true souls. The true souls, when they are in these visible forms, are referred to as "human demons" (*Iuar* iwančI). There is a moderate fear of them, particularly by women, and the Jívaro taboo on the eating of deer meat is based on the fear that eating such an animal might result in a deceased person's soul entering the body of the living person with the result that he may subsequently die. These "human demon" animals are often seen in pairs, a fact which the Jívaro interpret as indicating that the two creatures are temporarily visible forms of the souls of a man and his wife.

When a true soul has thus repeated the entire life history of its deceased owner, it ceases its existence as a "human demon" and changes into a "true demon." As a true demon, its form is permanently visible and more or less human, although a good deal uglier. The true demon roams the forest hungry, solitary, and lonely, feeling greatly the loss of the company of its former family. When Jívaro children wander into the forest and are not found immediately, it is said that a true demon carried off the child because it was so lonely for human companionship. Although it may take the Jívaro two or three days to find the lost child, they almost always succeed and therefore say that the true demon never harms children, but only wants to play with them.

Then the true demon, after existing for a span of years equivalent to a human lifetime, dies and changes into a certain species of giant butterfly or moth called *wampaŋ*. This creature has markings on its wings which lend it the appearance of an owl's face. All the wampaŋ are believed to be souls and are said always to be hungry, as is the case with any of the forms which the true soul takes. When a wampaŋ flies into a house, one of the persons there tosses a small piece of sweet manioc or a few drops of manioc beer in its direction. The Jívaro believe that since the wampaŋ might be the soul of a dead relative or friend it would be wrong to neglect its hunger. They do not fear the creature, however.

After a length of time about which the Jívaro are uncertain, the wampaŋ finally has its wings damaged by raindrops as it flutters through a rainstorm and dies on the ground. The true soul then changes into water vapor amidst the falling rain. All fog and clouds are believed to be the last form taken by true souls. The true soul undergoes no more transformations and persists eternally in the form of mist.

Of the three kinds of souls in which the Jívaro believe, they seem to be least interested in the "true" one, the nëkás wakanI, which does little to help the individual survive in his insecure society. It is the arutam soul instead which seems to rank first in the Jívaro mind. The arutam soul possessor believes himself to be unkillable, thereby gaining a greatly-desired sense of security in a social context of continual physical violence and interpersonal sorcery, both real and imagined. Paradoxically, the arutam soul concept also endorses assassination as a necessary form of behavior in the society.

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from natural forms of life or other natural phenomena. Stirling (1938:116) also errs in stating that "All of the principal nature gods . . . contain powerful *tsarutama*." In fact, it is highly questionable whether there are any supernatural figures whom the Jívaro could be said to view as gods. Stirling's candidates for gods are primarily "Piribri, the Rain God," and "Pangi, the great anaconda River God." Any such deities are not part of the supernaturalism of the Jívaro proper. Karsten (1954: 26) has already taken note of this situation, saying, "But the Jíbaros have no belief in a personal Raingod Piribri." Actually, *pirípiri* is the correct term and refers to a plant which the Jívaro use magically to cause rain to swell the rivers so that their enemies cannot cross successfully. But it is not a god. The actual supernatural role of "Pangi" (*pagi*) is not significantly greater than has been indicated in the preceding descriptions of the arutam and muisak souls. Karsten (1954:31) is also correct in rejecting a claim for a Jívaro deity named "Cumbanama" (see Steward and Metraux 1948:626), a claim simply deriving from a casual statement by an early traveler in the Jívaro country. While on the subject of supposed Jívaro gods, it might as well be mentioned that Karsten's (1935:125 26) candidate for an "Earth-mother" goddess really refers to a class of female spirits (*nugúi*) which can probably be best defined as crop fairies. She (or really, they) also has no husband, despite such a claim by Karsten (1935:379).

In regards to the muisak, Karsten (1935:430) was aaware of the potentially harmful nature of the spirit of a slain enemy, but does not report some of the major beliefs surrounding it, nor is he apparently cognizant of this term for the avenging spirit while it resides in the tsantsa. He (1954:21) is wrong when he states that the sloth shrunken head is not called "tsantsa." Nor can I agree with him when he says (1954:16): " . . . I have indicated the real purpose of the tsantsa, and in my statements, founded on personal observations and most careful inquiries, there is nothing to add and nothing to correct."

Stirling does not mention an avenging soul or spirit. While he notes (1935:74) that the tsantsa possesses magical power, he incorrectly identifies such power as "tsarutama," when it is really power emanating from the muisak.

Karsten fails to distinguish the nëkás wakanI and thus, since he uses the term wakanI alone, it is difficult to tell when his remarks apply to this particular soul. He is definitely wrong in his statement (1935:372) that: " . . . animals, plants and inanimate objects . . . seem to be conceived simply as disembodied human souls." What is fact is that no plants or inanimate objects are believed to *be* souls (although a few specific plants *have* souls) and only a few animals (e.g., deer, owls) are believed to be such. All other creatures with blood are thought to *have* some kind of true soul. Stirling never mentions wakanI.

To the reader who wonders whether some of these conflicts are due to culture change during the intervals between fieldwork by the different investigators, I submit the fact that several of my most important informants were already raising families prior to Karsten's initial Jívaro fieldwork in

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home-woven kilts wear the newer of the pair. Less frequently, a man also possesses a pair of trousers for special wear (see Plate 16). A few women, who have obtained machine-manufactured cloth, make their own "party dresses." Sometimes a man has an Achuara-made kilt, which he saves for visiting.

Families lacking woven cloth make kilts and dresses from bark cloth. Such clothing is much inferior in durability, and is considered an indication of family indolence and weakness.

Nuŋuí

Agricultural subsistence, especially, is connected with a system of belief which surrounds an "earth mother" named Nuŋuí. Whether Nuŋuí is best viewed as a class of crop fairies or as a goddess appears to be a difficult matter to decide.[3] On the one hand, the Jívaro usually speak of Nuŋuí in the singular, but they deny that there is just one, saying that there are "many," although all are identical in their attributes. For convenience, Nuŋuí will be referred to here in the singular.

Nuŋuí, it is believed, is responsible for pushing the crops up through the ground, i.e., for their growth. Without her help, a woman cannot expect to be successful as a gardener and, therefore, engages in various practices to attract Nuŋuí to the garden, and to keep her there. Such practices are based upon a knowledge of Nuŋuí's two main demands from the Jívaro: to be given a place to dance and to be provided with "babies."

It is believed that Nuŋuí, who is about three feet high, very fat, and dressed in a black *taračī*, according to those who have seen her in dreams and hallucinogen-induced visions,

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[787]

likes to come out at night and dance in the gardens, which, of course, are the only unobstructed clearings in the forest. She is most attracted to brand-new gardens with a minimum of growth and, in fact, such open spaces are so attractive that many Nuŋuí may come to dance simultaneously in such a clearing. However, normally there is only one Nuŋuí associated with a single garden and she dances alone between the manioc plants, in turn dancing as a partner with each pair of the opening shoots of manioc. As long as the garden is well weeded, she will probably stay at the site, remaining underground during the day. Her continued presence assures that she will be pushing up the crops, including all the domesticated plants. If, however, the woman responsible for the garden fails to weed it adequately, Nuŋuí will withdraw deep into the ground and remove herself to some other woman's better-weeded plot, "taking" the crop with her, and also causing the weeds suddenly to become even worse in the garden she has left. For this reason the Jívaro say they must weed the gardens carefully. Indeed, those with the best-weeded gardens do tend to have the best crop production, which is given as evidence of the validity of their belief.

With the breaking of day, Nuŋuí returns underground, going deeper as the day progresses. Since her supernatural force retreats with her, it is believed that the manioc tubers and sweet potatoes diminish in size gradually during the daytime. For this reason, the mistress of the garden prefers to dig up the tuberous crops early in the morning, while they still retain their maximum size. At the same time, going early in the morning to the garden may frighten Nuŋuí, so the woman sings a song of propitiation to reassure Nuŋuí and to keep her from submerging more deeply. Sometimes the woman simply thinks the song without opening her mouth,

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for it is believed that Nuŋuí can hear it this way as well. A typical version is as follows:

> I am a woman of Nuŋuí.
> Therefore I sing,
> So that the manioc will grow well.
> For when I do not sing,
> There is not much production.
> I am of Nuŋuí.
> Therefore I harvest faster than others.

In addition to providing Nuŋuí with a dancing place and treating her with respect through songs, the mistress of the garden provides her with "babies" to encourage her to remain at the garden. These are three red stones which appear to the women in hallucinogen-induced visions and dreams as babies for Nuŋuí. The stones, which are chips of unworked red jasper, are known as the "stones of Nuŋuí" or the "stones of manioc" and supposedly can only be found through having a dream in which Nuŋuí appears and tells the woman, "I am hiding a 'stone of manioc' in such-and-such a place." Then the woman must go out early in the morning, before eating, to find the stone, because if she were to delay, it would disappear as Nuŋuí made her morning withdrawal down into the earth. Only one such stone is found as a result of a given dream, and each is jealously hoarded. They are hidden in the center of the garden under an overturned food-serving bowl. A myth explaining the origin of this practice is as follows:

> In the olden time there was no manioc or any other agricultural crop. The people just ate the leaf of the *uŋusï* [a species of the Araceae]. In that time many people died of hunger. Since they were hungry, they said, "Let us go to this stream. Let us catch crabs." As they caught crabs, they followed the stream

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773 they encountered Nuŋuí digging clay out of the ground. She told them, "I am Nuŋuí, and I give all the people their food. I shall teach you a song. Sing it, because you are orphans, and make pots. Take some of this clay, and as soon as you get home, make pots with it."

The children obeyed her and found themselves able to make all kinds of pots which did not break when they fired them. There had been pots before, but usually they broke in firing. The children told everyone about their success. When they grew up, their houses contained many pots, they had excellent gardens, and many people came to ask them for pots. The orphans' crops flourished, their chickens and pigs multiplied remarkably, more than those of anyone else, and they taught the other people the song which they use to this day to prevent the pots from cracking during firing.

• 776 231 562 Nuŋuí is also believed to have given the dog to the Jívaro for hunting. This association of dogs with Nuŋuí is consistent with the importance of the dogs in protecting the gardens from rodents and other destructive animals, and with the fact [224] that they are cared for by the women. In fact, when a man wishes to hunt game that requires the assistance of a dog, he asks a wife to accompany him, and to handle the dog on a [782] leash. It is believed that the presence of the woman, through her connection to Nuŋuí, will help the man have better luck, and she constantly (and usually silently) sings to Nuŋuí for success in getting game and also so that the dog will be protected from snakebite or other misfortune.

782 824 Women also sing to Nuŋuí to help protect the household from attack by enemies who might be approaching through the surrounding garden. That is, they believe that the manioc plants especially have an innate desire and capability to suck the blood from any person touching them. A woman, therefore, sings to them to suck the blood of enemies, but not of

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Several cases were encountered in which men gave their daughters in marriage to shamans without the customary bride-service, or even the less common bride-price, because the girls' fathers feared the bewitching power of the shamans. It is also standard practice for shamans to be given gifts of chickens, clothing, and ornaments during casual visits to laymen's houses, even though the shamans have not specifically asked for them. Laymen, in contrast, are usually not given presents by fellow non-shamans without asking for them. Shamans are quite conscious of their privileges, and often boasted to me how well they (compared to non-shamans) were fed when visiting neighbors' houses.

Shamans host neighbors to help in land clearing more often than do non-shamans. Such labor is ostensibly reciprocal, but the shaman's neighbors are reluctant to ask him to work for them in turn. This is partly due to their desire to maintain his goodwill, but there also seems to be a feeling that extensive manual labor is not in keeping with the shaman's supernatural preoccupations and services.

A shaman obtains his power to bewitch or cure exclusively through purchase. To become a shaman, a man presents a sizeable gift to an established practitioner. Such a gift must have some real value in native terms. Typically, it consists of one or two muzzle-loading shotguns, gunpowder, shot, primers, a blowgun and curare, and a machete or steel axehead. In return for this payment, the practicing shaman instructs the apprentice in his new profession and supplies him with magical power, in the form of the spirit servants called *tsentsak* (see pp. 154–66). The exchange of shamanistic power for payment in material valuables (*kuit*) makes the two men *amigri* or "friends," as is the case with normal trading partners (see pp. 128–31). However, the relationship between shamans is a hierarchical one signif-

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icantly different from the essentially egalitarian one between ordinary *amigri*.

The essence of the shaman's power, the *tsentsak*, or magical darts, have an almost infinite variety of forms, and are viewed as invisible spirit helpers which normally reside in the shaman's body. To bewitch, the shaman sends one of these invisible darts into the body of his victim. To cure, he calls upon these spirit aides to suck the intruding magical dart out of the patient's body.

The power of the magical darts is believed to vary according to their type and according to the power of the shaman supplying them. The most powerful, and therefore most valued, supernatural darts are considered to be those belonging to the shamans of the Quichua (Quechua)-speaking Canelos tribe, which extends northward from the Jívaro to the headwaters of the Río Napo. The Canelos tribe has long been in contact with missionaries, and Canelos shamans are distinguished by the Jívaro with a separate term, *payü*, derived from *banco*, the Spanish word for the "bank" part of a placer-mining apparatus, which retains the gold-bearing gravels. Canelos shamans call themselves "banks" because they are believed to be similar rich repositories, but of magical power instead of mineral wealth.

The Canelos *payü* are said to possess "white man's" *tsentsak*, which the Jívaro and Achuara shamans consider superior to their own traditional *šuar*, or Indian, *tsentsak*. By means of "white man's" magical darts, the Canelos shamans are able to perform feats not possible for Jívaro and Achuara shamans. For example, they are the only shamans in the region who are able to become possessed with the souls of the dead and to act as oral mediums. They also, it is believed, can send demons to possess victims and thereby manipulate their behavior. Furthermore, these Canelos sha-

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mans are so powerful that it is assumed that they cannot be killed by ordinary means.

The Jívaro and Achuara believe so strongly in the superiority of the Canelos *payü* that men wishing to become successful shamans would prefer to obtain their own supernatural darts directly from them. A man cannot expect to become a successful shaman, either in bewitching or curing, unless he has magical darts which exceed in power those of the shamans against whom he is working. Beyond this, he believes that his very survival will depend upon the ability of his own magical darts or spirit helpers to resist the attacks of their counterparts belonging to enemy shamans.

The intensity of feuding within the Jívaro and Achuara tribes makes long-distance travel to obtain *tsentsak* too dangerous to be undertaken by most men. Generally, only the most northern of the Jívaro and Achuara shamans succeed in visiting the Canelos *payü* in order to obtain power. For this reason, the northern Jívaro and Achuara shamans are considered to be more powerful than those to the south.

Since shamanistic power declines in its strength as it is passed southward from shaman to shaman, a southern member of these two tribes who wishes to acquire superior shamanistic power simply does the best he can—which is to travel as far north as safety permits to obtain his magical darts. This is rarely more than forty to fifty miles. If the pilgrim is relatively fortunate, he may be able to get his power from a shaman who has obtained his darts directly from a Canelos bank. But if he lives farther south, he may find he can only obtain the darts from a shaman who got them from a shaman who got them from a shaman who got them from a *payü!* Thus, among the Jívaro and the Achuara, there is a regular traffic of shamans making pilgrimages at least slightly northward from their neighborhoods to secure strong supernatural power.

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Upon returning home, a shaman soon barters part of his power, in turn, to men coming to visit him from the south, or he may also dispense it to men of his own neighborhood who are unwilling to undertake even the short trip northward. In any event, the shaman may directly supply power to no more than four men. After that, his power is believed to be so drained off that he must obtain a new supply of magical darts.

The relationship between the shaman supplying the magical power and the person receiving it is not a relationship between equals. The power-giver is referred to in these tribes as the "higher" shaman, and the recipient as the "lower." The "higher" and "lower" designations refer to actual authority and control exercised by the giver of power over the recipient. The higher shaman, it is believed, can magically take back the power which he has conferred, regardless of the distance separating the two shamans (see pp. 165–66). He may take back this power because of a personal offense, or because he has been bribed to do so by an enemy of the lower shaman. Such occurrences are frequently reported, and there are a number of former shamans who testify that they lost their power in this manner.

A sudden loss of shamanistic power is believed to result in serious illness and often in death. The lower shaman, therefore, tends to fear his higher associate and attempts to keep on good terms with him. With this purpose in mind, he sends tribute in the form of substantial gifts of material valuables (*kuit*) at regular intervals. Such *kuit* includes shotguns, hunting dogs, blowguns, curare, feather headbands (*tawaspä*), and Western-manufactured shirts and trousers. He particularly hopes that these gifts will offset any bribes that may be offered to the higher shaman.

A secondary incentive for sending tribute is the need of the lower shaman to replenish his supply of magical darts

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every few years. His power, in the form of these spirit servants, is gradually used up through curing, bewitching, or dispensing it. He expects, therefore, to have to replenish his supply by visiting his higher associate. The lower shaman may look forward to help from the higher man only if he has been faithful in the submission of goods.

Tribute between shamans flows from the south, since, of course, the most powerful shamans are in the north. The tribute follows the lines of the shaman hierarchies up into the Canelos tribe. These hierarchies do not converge upon a single Canelos shaman, however, because there are a number of banks of about equal power in the tribe. In other words, this is basically a system of plural and parallel hierarchies culminating in the same region, but not in the same individual.

The hierarchical situation is further complicated by the fact that a given shaman frequently obtains magical power from several higher associates. He does this so that his power cannot be completely taken away from him at the whim of a single higher shaman. This tendency seems to prevent the hierarchies from being used as chains of authority. Since a shaman is thus often directly subordinate to several others, considerable intertwining of hierarchical relationships occurs (see Figure 3).

Roughly speaking, about one out of every four adult men is a shaman, so that, in any given locality, the shamans constitute a significant proportion of the male population. A few women are shamans, but among the Jívaro this is basically a man's occupation. The shamans in any particular neighborhood are ordinarily linked together by secret partnerships. These partnerships are also hierarchical in nature, and often a single shaman is the formally recognized leader of all the shamans in a specific neighborhood. These secret

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ural plane. Finally, entrance into the normally invisible realm is considered so essential to success that the two kinds of leaders in Jívaro society, the outstanding killers (*kakaram*) and shamans, are the two types of persons for whom hallucinogenic drugs tend to have the most important role. Their achievements are believed by the Jívaro to be directly connected to their ability to enter, and utilize the souls and spirits of, that "real" world.

Three kinds of souls are recognized. Of these, the *arutam wakanī* is believed by the Jívaro to be the most significant. This is an acquired soul, and a man may possess as many as two *arutam* souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul, while the third is the *nekás wakanī*, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

The Arutam *Soul*[1]

Arutam wakanī is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient specter" soul. The term *arutam* alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. *Wakanī* alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus the *arutam wakanī* is the particular kind of soul that produces the *arutam*, or vision. An *arutam* appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The *arutam* soul, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the *arutam* soul that the Jívaro seek security from the ever felt menace of death.

The Jívaro believe that the possessor of a single *arutam* soul cannot be killed by any form of physical violence, poison, or by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox. In other words, a person who has only one *arutam* soul in his posses-

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sion is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jívaro who is fortunate enough to possess two *arutam* souls cannot die of *any* cause whatever, including contagious disease.

A person is not born with an *arutam* soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain *arutam* souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an *arutam* soul at about the age of six years. Accompanied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred waterfall in his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a few days' travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls or spirits which wander about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. During the day, the vision seekers "bathe" in the waterfall by striding back and forth under its cold and drenching canopy, actually walking between the downpour and the cliff from which it is dropping. They walk naked and shivering, and in some danger from falling logs which may be swept over the cliff with the current. Each paces with the aid of a magical balsa wood staff carved for the occasion, and chants, "*tau, tau, tau,*" continually. By night the pilgrims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink tobacco water (made by steeping green tobacco leaves in cold water), and await the appearance of an *arutam*.

They may keep up this fasting, "bathing," and tobacco water drinking for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make another attempt at a later date. More

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possibly falling off a cliff or into a river and drowning. The other pilgrims in the party do not take the substance themselves, partially so that they can protect the *maikua* drinker from running off. They also believe that an *arutam* is not likely to come to a vision seeker if he is a coward, which would be evidenced if he were unwilling to take *Datura* alone and enter the normally invisible world unaccompanied.

If the *arutam* seeker is fortunate, he will awaken at about midnight to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind felling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the *arutam*. Shortly the *arutam* appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common *arutam* include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the *arutam* seeker. When the apparition arrives to within twenty or thirty feet, the Jivaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the *arutam* instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.[6]

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an *arutam*, the person returns to his house, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same *arutam* he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream visitor is in the form of an old Jivaro man who says to him, "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have

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ing soul is created and leaves his corpse through the mouth.[10] 774
If one simply dies of contagious disease or of old age (the 784
latter believed by the Jivaro to be a rare occurrence), no *muisak* is created.

The sole reason for existence of a person's *muisak* is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an *arutam* soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The *muisak* is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because [587] of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much *arutam* power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a *muisak* 774
while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head 776 •
trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human 784
head trophy is not taken and prepared, the *muisak* is able to [765]
travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of the three types of *tsunki*, or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*mashumi*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda [825]
(*pesu*), which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest, [824]
which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jivaro society that might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of [411]
the machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a *muisak* can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jivaro view slight, self-inflicted wounds as true [752]
accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

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Before the avenging spirit, or *iwanči*, kills the murderer, it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this *iwanči* fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the *tsantsa* feast. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again.

The widely publicized practice of the Jívaro in shrinking human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge of the *muisak* concept. A major part of the belief and ritual associated with the *tsantsa* is a direct effort to thwart the *muisak* in its mission of vengeance.[11] The Jívaro believe that the completion of the process of headshrinking forces the *muisak*, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical ones that the head would decay if not processed in some way and that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its *tsantsa*(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the steps in the processing of the shrunken head is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the *muisak* cannot see out," thereby

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making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the *tsantsa*.

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the *tsantsa* is held immediately, later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the *muisak* might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically binding ritual and slip from the head trophy, causing a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the *muisak* will be kept inside of the *tsantsa* until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance, because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing:

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

The *tsantsa* is commonly later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the *muisak* to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands the *tsantsa* over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the *tsantsa* feast did not succeed in its purpose.

During the three feasts the celebrants are concerned with utilizing the power of the *muisak* as well as containing it. As

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recognized that making a full-fledged *tsantsa* would be more insulting to the victim's relatives and neighbors and thus more likely to bring large-scale retaliation. Because of the same fear of serious retribution, heads almost never seem to be taken of whites, but several instances are known in which the "hair" *tsantsa* was made from white victims. The Jívaro are frankly uncertain, however, whether whites have *arutam* souls and *muisak*, and it appears that their primary motivation in such cases is to celebrate the killing of whites.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only non-human creature thought to be capable of forming a *muisak*. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an *arutam* soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves in such a slow manner, it is further believed to have lost its former *arutam* soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human *tsantsa* but generally somewhat less extensive. The *muisak* of the sloth is believed capable of becoming only a single avenging form, a falling tree.

Sometimes a man who has personally killed someone on an inter-tribal raid has been unable to remove his victim's head before retreating. Under such circumstances, the killer cannot be a full, dancing participant in the first *tsantsa* celebration, but can borrow a *tsantsa* from someone who killed on a previous raid in order to host the two subsequent feasts. Through ritual procedure, the *muisak* of the new victim is believed to be made to enter the old *tsantsa*, and these two *tsantsa* celebrations are called "demon feasts" (*iwanči namper*) in recognition of the presence of the avenging soul of the victim even though a substitute head is being used. Occasionally, a tree sloth *tsantsa* may be used to perform the

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engage in subsistence activities and eat what appears to be food to them, it never satisfies them, because it is really just air. The "animals" which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of perpetual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the kind of life they led while in living individuals. Needless to say, the true soul's fate of persistent starvation is dreaded by the Jívaro.

One can often see deer and owls lingering in the vicinity of abandoned garden and house sites.[12] The Jívaro interpret the presence of such creatures at these old living places as evidence that the animals are temporarily visible embodiments of true souls. The true souls, when they are in these visible forms, are referred to as "human demons" (*šuar iwanči*). There is a moderate fear of them, particularly by women, and the Jívaro taboo on the eating of deer meat is based on the fear that eating such an animal might result in a deceased person's soul entering the body of the living person, with the result that he may subsequently die. These "human demon" animals are often seen in pairs, a fact the Jívaro interpret as indicating that the two creatures are temporarily visible forms of the souls of a man and his wife.

When a true soul has thus repeated the entire life history of its deceased owner, it ceases its existence as a "human demon" and changes into a "true demon." As a true demon, its form is permanently visible and more or less human, although a good deal uglier. The true demon roams the forest hungry, solitary, and lonely, feeling greatly the loss of the company of its former family. When a Jívaro child wanders into the forest and is not found immediately, it is said that a true demon carried off the child because it was

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776 so lonely for human companionship. Although it may take
775 the Jívaro two or three days to find the lost child, they
[855] almost always succeed, and therefore say that the true demon never harms children, but only wants to play with them.

776 Then the true demon, after existing for a span of years
825 equivalent to a human lifetime, dies and changes into a certain
775 species of giant butterfly or moth called *wampay*. This creature has markings on its wings which lend it the appearance of an owl's face. All the *wampay* are believed to be souls and are said to be always hungry, as is the case with any of the forms that the true soul takes. When a *wampay* flies inside a house, one of the persons there tosses a small piece of manioc or a few drops of manioc beer in its direction. The Jívaro believe that since the *wampay* might be the soul of a dead relative or friend it would be wrong to neglect its hunger. They do not fear the creature, however.

After a length of time about which the Jívaro are uncertain, the *wampay* finally has its wings damaged by raindrops as it flutters through a rainstorm, and falls to die on
775 the ground. The true soul then changes into water vapor
[821] amidst the falling rain. All fog and clouds are believed to be the last form taken by true souls. The true soul undergoes no more transformations and persists eternally in the form of mist.

774 Of the three kinds of souls in which the Jívaro believe, they seem to be least interested in the "true" one, the *nekás wakani*, which does little to help the individual sur-
774 vive in his insecure society. It is the *arutam* soul instead
778 that seems to rank first in the Jívaro mind. The *arutam*
771 soul possessor believes himself to be unkillable, thereby gaining a greatly desired sense of security in a social context of continual physical violence and witchcraft, both real and

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particularly deadly, and, on rare occasions to kill shamans with whom he is angry. No shaman is believed capable of defending himself from the *tsentsak* of Tsuŋi.

Laymen are not able to cure or bewitch, because they do not have these magical darts in their control. Laymen can treat the "white man's diseases," previously mentioned, with herb remedies, but such treatment of illness is little developed in the society. Shamans never use herb remedies.

Shamans send these spirit helpers into the victims' bodies to make them ill or to kill them. At other times, they may suck such spirits sent by enemy shamans from the bodies of tribesmen suffering from witchcraft-induced illness. The spirit helpers also form shields that protect their shaman masters from attacks. The following account presents the ideology of Jívaro shamanism from the point of view of the shamans themselves.

To give the novice some *tsentsak*, the practicing shaman regurgitates what appears to be—to those who have taken *natemä*—a brilliant substance in which the spirit helpers are contained. He cuts part of it off with a machete and gives it to the novice to swallow. The recipient experiences pain upon taking it into his stomach and stays on his bed for ten days, repeatedly drinking *natemä*. The Jívaro believe they can keep magical darts in their stomachs indefinitely and regurgitate them at will. The shaman donating the *tsentsak* periodically blows and rubs all over the body of the novice, apparently to increase the power of the transfer.

The novice must remain inactive and not engage in sexual intercourse for several months. If he fails in self-discipline, as some do, he will not become a successful shaman. At the end of the first month, a *tsentsak* emerges from his mouth. With this magical dart at his disposal, the new shaman experiences a tremendous desire to bewitch. If he casts his *tsentsak*

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the *tsentsak* is revealed to the shaman by taking *natemä*. When he does this, the magical darts appear in new forms as demons and with new names. In their supernatural aspects, the *tsentsak* are not simply objects but spirit helpers in various forms, such as giant butterflies, jaguars, or monkeys, who actively assist the shaman in his tasks.

Bewitching is carried out against a specific, known individual and thus is usually done to neighbors or, at the most, fellow tribesmen. Normally, as is the case with intra-tribal assassination, bewitching is done to avenge a particular offense committed against one's family or friends. Both bewitching and individual assassination contrast with the large-scale head-hunting raids conducted against entire households of enemy tribes.

To bewitch, the shaman takes *natemä* and secretly approaches the house of his victim. Just out of sight in the forest, he drinks green tobacco water, enabling him to regurgitate a *tsentsak*, which he throws as his victim comes out of his house. If the *tsentsak* is strong enough and is thrown with sufficient force, it will pass all the way through the victim's body, causing death within a period of a few days to several weeks. More often, however, the magical dart simply lodges in the victim's body. If the shaman, in his hiding place, fails to see the intended victim, he may instead bewitch any member of the intended victim's family who appears, usually a wife or child. When the shaman's mission is accomplished, he returns secretly to his own home.

One of the distinguishing characteristics of the bewitching process among the Jívaro is that, as far as could be learned, the victim is given no specific indication that someone is bewitching him. The bewitcher does not want his victim to be aware that he is being supernaturally attacked, lest he take protective measures by immediately procuring the

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services of a curing shaman. Nonetheless, shamans and laymen alike steadfastly claimed, in interviews, that illness invariably follows the bewitchment, although the degree of illness can vary considerably.

A special kind of spirit helper, called a *pasuk*, can aid the bewitching shaman by remaining near the victim in the guise of an insect or animal of the forest after the bewitcher has left. This spirit helper has his own objects to shoot into the victim should a curing shaman succeed in sucking out the *tsentsak* sent earlier by the bewitcher who is the owner of the *pasuk*.

In addition, the bewitcher can enlist the aid of a *wakanī* ("soul," or "spirit") bird. Shamans have the power to call these birds and use them as spirit helpers in bewitching victims. The shaman blows on the *wakanī* birds and then sends them to the house of the victim to fly around and around the man, frightening him. This is believed to cause fever and insanity, with death resulting shortly thereafter.

After he returns home from bewitching, the shaman may send a *wakanī* bird to perch near the house of the victim. Then, if a curing shaman sucks out the intruding object, the bewitching shaman sends the *wakanī* bird more *tsentsak* to throw from its beak into the victim. By continually resupplying the *wakanī* bird with new *tsentsak*, the sorcerer makes it impossible for the curer to rid his patient permanently of the magical darts.

While the *wakanī* birds are supernatural servants available to anyone who wishes to use them, the *pasuk*, chief among the spirit helpers, serves only a single shaman. Likewise a shaman possesses only one *pasuk*. The *pasuk*, being specialized for the service of bewitching, has a protective shield to guard it from counterattack by the curing shaman.

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The curing shaman, under the influence of *natemă*, sees the *pasuk* of the bewitcher in human form and size, but "covered with iron except for its eyes." The curing shaman can kill this *pasuk* only by shooting a *tsentsak* into its eyes, the sole vunerable area in the *pasuk*'s armor. To the person who has not taken the hallucinogenic drink, the *pasuk* usually appears to be simply a tarantula.

Shamans may also kill or injure a person by using magical darts, *anamuk*, to create supernatural animals that attack a victim. If a shaman has a small, pointed armadillo bone *tsentsak*, he can shoot this into a river while the victim is crossing it on a balsa raft or in a canoe. Under the water, this bone manifests itself in its supernatural aspect as an anaconda, which rises up and overturns the craft, causing the victim to drown. The shaman can similarly use a tooth from a killed snake as a *tsentsak*, creating a poisonous serpent to bite his victim. In more or less the same manner, shamans can create jaguars and pumas to kill their victims.

About five years after receiving his *tsentsak*, a bewitching shaman undergoes a test to see if he still retains enough *tsentsak* power to continue to kill successfully. This test involves bewitching a tree. The shaman, under the influence of *natemă*, attempts to throw a *tsentsak* through the tree at the point where its two main branches join. If his strength and aim are adequate, the tree appears to split the moment the *tsentsak* is sent into it. The splitting, however, is invisible to an observer who is not under the influence of the hallucinogen. If the shaman fails, he knows that he is incapable of killing a human victim. This means that, as soon as possible, he must go to a strong shaman and purchase a new supply of *tsentsak*. Until he has the goods with which to pay for this new supply, he is in constant danger, in his proved

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plays it to the patient and his family, saying, "Now I have sucked it out. Here it is."

The non-shamans think that the material object itself is what has been sucked out, and the shaman does not disillusion them. At the same time, he is not lying, because he knows that the only important thing about a *tsentsak* is its supernatural aspect, or essence, which he sincerely believes he has removed from the patient's body. To explain to the layman that he already had these objects in his mouth would serve no fruitful purpose and would prevent him from displaying such an object as proof that he had cured the patient. Without incontrovertible evidence, he would not be able to convince the patient and his family that he had effected the cure and must be paid.

The ability of the shaman to suck depends largely upon the quantity and strength of his own *tsentsak*, of which he may have hundreds. His magical darts assume their supernatural aspect as spirit helpers when he is under the influence of *natemä*, and he sees them as a variety of zoomorphic forms hovering over him, perching on his shoulders, sticking out of his skin, and helping to suck the patient's body. He must drink tobacco water every few hours to "keep them fed" so that they will not leave him. He will also appear, to another shaman under the influence of *natemä*, to have a gold, red and greenish "crown" above his head (see Plate 24).

The curing shaman must also deal with any *pasuk* that may be in the patient's vicinity for the purpose of casting more darts. He drinks additional amounts of *natemä* in order to see them and engages in *tsentsak* duels with them if they are present. While the *pasuk* is enclosed in iron armor, the shaman himself has his own armor, composed of his many *tsentsak*. As long as he is under the influence of

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natemă, these magical darts cover his body as a protective shield, and are on the lookout for any enemy *tsentsak* headed towards their master. When these *tsentsak* see such a missile coming, they immediately close up together at the point where the enemy dart is attempting to penetrate, and thereby repel it.

If the curer finds *tsentsak* entering the body of his patient after he has killed the *pasuk*, he suspects the presence of a *wakani* bird. The shaman drinks *maikua* (*Datura*), since it is more powerful than *natemă*, as well as tobacco water, and silently sneaks into the forest to hunt and kill the bird with *tsentsak*. When he succeeds, the curer returns to the patient's home, blows all over the house to get rid of the "atmosphere" created by the numerous *tsentsak* sent by the bird, and completes his sucking of the patient. Even after all the *tsentsak* are extracted, the shaman may remain another night at the house to suck out any "dirtiness" (*pahuri*) still inside. In the cures which I have witnessed, this sucking is a most noisy process, accompanied by deep, but dry, vomiting.

After sucking out a *tsentsak*, the shaman puts it into a little container. He does not swallow it, because it is not his own magical dart and would therefore kill him. Later, he throws the *tsentsak* into the air, and it flies back to the shaman who sent it originally into the patient. *Tsentsak* also fly back to a shaman at the death of a former apprentice who had originally received them from him. Besides receiving "old" magical darts unexpectedly in this manner, the shaman may have *tsentsak* thrown at him by a bewitcher. Accordingly, shamans constantly drink tobacco water at all hours of the day and night. Although the tobacco water is not truly hallucinogenic, it produces a narcotized state, which is believed necessary to keep one's *tsentsak* ready to repel any other magical

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darts. A shaman does not even dare go for a walk without taking along the green tobacco leaves with which he prepares the juice that keeps his spirit helpers alert. Less frequently, but regularly, he must drink *natemä* for the same purpose and to keep in touch with the supernatural reality.

While curing under the influence of *natemä*, the curing shaman "sees" the shaman who bewitched his patient. Generally, he can recognize the person, unless it is a shaman who lives far away or in another tribe. The patient's family knows this, and demands to be told the identity of the bewitcher, particularly if the sick person dies. At one curing session I attended, the shaman could not identify the person he had seen in his vision. The brother of the dead man then accused the shaman himself of being responsible. Under such pressure, there is a strong tendency for the curing shaman to attribute each case to a particular bewitcher.

Shamans gradually become weak and must purchase *tsentsak* again and again. Curers tend to become weak in power especially after curing a patient bewitched by a shaman who has recently received a new supply of magical darts. Thus the most powerful shamans are those who can repeatedly purchase new supplies of *tsentsak* from other shamans, particularly *paŋü* (see pp. 119–20).

Shamans can take back *tsentsak* from others to whom they have previously given them. To accomplish this, the shaman drinks *natemä*, and, using his *tsentsak*, creates a "bridge" in the form of a rainbow between himself and the other shaman. Then he shoots a *tsentsak* along this rainbow. This strikes the ground beside the other shaman with an explosion and flash likened to a lightning bolt. The purpose of this is to surprise the other shaman so that he temporarily forgets to maintain his guard over his magical darts, thus permitting the first shaman to suck them back along the rain-

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ney, reached their home neighborhood. However, most wife-seizing among the Jívaro is intra-, rather than inter-tribal in form, and is often justified on the basis of supposed levirate rights and romantic involvement.

Although obtaining heads is the primary object of the expedition, the successful attackers also loot the houses of such valuables as blowguns, dart poison, dogs, beads, machetes, steel axes, featherwork, and other ornaments.

Tsantsa *Celebrations*

As they retreat homeward, the head-takers (*tsaŋram*) shrink the skins peeled from the heads. Since the withdrawal from the enemy region is made with haste, in order to avoid being overtaken by an avenging group of Achuara, the preparation of the head skins is done intermittently during the infrequent stops on the return.

The process of preparing the *tsantsa* involves a number of steps. With the aid of a machete or steel knife, the victim's skin is peeled back from the uppermost part of his chest, shoulders and back, and the head and neck are cut off as close as possible to the collarbone. The killer removes his own woven headband or *etsemat* and passes it through the mouth and neck of the head and ties it over his shoulder to facilitate his rapid retreat from the victim's neighborhood. If he has no *etsemat*, he may use a section of *činčipī* vine instead.

Eventually, the head-taker and his companions reach a spot beside a river where they had cached one or more pottery cooking jars and food dishes. Here he makes a slit up the rear of the head, carefully cuts the skin from the skull, and throws the latter into the river "as a gift for *paŋi*," the anaconda. The skin is boiled in plain water (there are no "secret" vegetal

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Shaman hierarchies within the neighborhood are also an important new development. This innovation, which is related to the growth in numbers of shamans competing to acquire valuables and strong shamanistic power, occurred between about 1925 and 1935. Formerly, only one shaman normally was found in each neighborhood, but with the increase in their numbers, they began to purchase their power from other shamans within their own localities, thereby bringing into existence hierarchies of shaman partners on the neighborhood level.

The inter-neighborhood hierarchies of shamans linking the Jívaro with the Canelos are likewise a new development, evolving since about 1930. According to older informants, shamanistic power formerly was not obtained from the Canelos tribe, but with the inhibition of inter-tribal warfare, Jívaro shamans began to visit the Canelos shamans, leading to the elaborate hierarchical relations which now stretch northward to the Canelos "banks." The increasing competition between Jívaro shamans, deriving from their sheer numbers and their demand for trade goods, further encouraged them to travel northward to get the maximum quality and variety of *tsentsak* available.

Shamanistic knowledge and practices have experienced considerable elaboration in recent decades. Much of this more elaborate knowledge has been learned from the Canelos tribe via the inter-tribal system of shaman hierarchies. Examples of such recently transmitted information include new types of spirit helpers and the innovation of possession by spirits of the dead. The heightened shamanistic competition has encouraged the acquisition of new techniques and knowledge.

Outside of shamanism, few changes have occurred in supernatural ideology. Some minor modifications have oc-

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28. Vacas Galindo, 1895, pp. 49–50; Anonymous, 1952, p. 38. 000
29. Karsten, 1935, p. 8.
30. Anonymous, 1952, pp. 32–33; 38.
31. Platt, 1932, pp. 93–94.
32. Most of the following historical information is derived from oral accounts of older Ecuadorian colonists and Jívaro. [173]
33. See Stirling, 1938, Plates 11–17.
34. Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, 1954, pp. 138; 141. These figures include the population of Macas. The Summer Institute of Linguistics aerial survey counted 256 Jívaro houses in the same region in 1956.
35. Drown, 1961, pp. 22, 31, 58–9, 140–44.
36. Macabeo and Jívaro oral histories. [173]

CHAPTER II

1. Although rainfall is fairly heavy, it is well distributed throughout the year, and the distinct seasonal differences found in much of tropical forest South America are not as evident here. Short term records are available for rainfall and temperature at the Ecuadorian settlements of Macas, Méndez, and Gualaquiza, all in the higher western portion of the region. These reports of annual rainfall range from 1,992 mm. at Gualaquiza to 2,599 mm. at Méndez, with the minimum for a single month at any station being 95 mm. Recorded average temperatures from these same stations range from 21.4 to 25.2 degrees Centigrade (Ferdon, 1950, pp. 73–74). 24 132
2. Cf. Steere, 1950, p. 85.
3. In an earlier paper (Harner, 1962, p. 269) I questioned whether the Jívaro had any gods or goddesses, but additional field study and analysis have led me to be less certain of the classificatory status of Nunuí and, in fact, of the definition of "gods" and "goddesses" in general. 000 [128]
4. Demons lack blood. [176]

CHAPTER III

1. Based upon a Summer Institute of Linguistics aerial survey in 1956–57 (Glen Turner, personal communication). The Jívaro population near the Macuma and Yaupi missions, comprising some eighty houses, is specifically excluded in the total here. 361 161

   The Summer Institute of Linguistics personnel were employing an intentionally conservative estimate of five persons per dwelling, which was used for earlier population estimates by the author (Harner, 1962, p. 259; 1963, p. 9; 1968b, p. 363). Additional research has led the author to revise the estimate of average household population upward to nine, and this is the figure employed in the present study. It seems impossible, however, to reconcile my results with those 114